

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

GENDER AND DIVERSITY IN MILITARY OPERATIONS

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ABSTRACT

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In 2000 the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325, "*Women, Peace and Security*". This resolution gives a different picture of women in conflict and conflict prevention than in the past. For the first time women are considered as resources instead of as victims. This approach has only been adopted in mission statements and written documents by a few nations and organizations. However, experience from the past and present operations indicates that gender and diversity issues are not taken into sufficient consideration when these operations are planned. Examples from Afghanistan and Iraq show that alliances like NATO or coalitions are not able to reach out to the whole society to be able to fulfill its mandate because they do not address and provide for the needs of the whole society.

All 191 member states of the UN have adopted resolution 1325, but in 2007 only a few states have taken any actions to implement the resolution. Organizations like the UN, NATO, the EU and the OSCE have started to implement the resolution and the work is pending. This research will identify the lack of actual implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the importance of gender and diversity issues in operations that are primarily military.

GENDER AND DIVERSITY IN MILITARY OPERATIONS

... it is not so easy to rule over a people who are aware of their rights, using traditional, patriarchal and paternalistic methods...Women constitute half of the population of every country. To disregard women and bar them from active participation in political, social, economic and cultural life would in fact be tantamount to depriving the entire population of every society of half its capability.

—Shirin Ebadi
Nobel Peace Prize Winner 2003

In the western world, only recently have gender and diversity issues surfaced as topics relevant to discussions of armed conflicts, crises and peacekeeping operations.¹ Unfortunately, attention to these topics has been infrequent and sporadic. The world today faces complex multi-dimensional challenges that require a full spectrum of possible tools to solve or prevent long lasting unrest in the world. However, the importance of using gender² and diversity in peace building and nation building has not been sufficiently elaborated or recognized in most countries. Diversity is defined as the quality of being made up of distinct characteristics, qualities or elements.³ This research focuses on differences in gender and diversity in the context of military operations with relation to the implementation of one United Nations resolution. For this paper diversity is defined as articulating and honoring the importance of women's views, roles and values. The scope of this paper does not refer to diversity in a broader context of cultural, social, ethnic and historical differences across countries and war zones.

In 2000 the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, "*Women, Peace and Security*."⁴ This resolution "*urges member states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict*."⁵ The resolution commits the UN's 191 member states to a fundamentally changed image of women. It describes how member states should increase the representation of females and gives specific recommendations on what to do in different areas with female participation. The resolution has the intention of motivating governments to deliberately involve women to promote and maintain peace and prosperity throughout the world. The resolution's weakness is that it does not elaborate on why it is important to engage females in peace and security affairs.

Today discussions of diversity and gender are included in documents to be politically correct, but few nations have translated words into actions in a consistently implemented agenda or action plan which includes gender-mainstreaming.⁶ One reason for this is the way

states manage crises and conflicts often mirrors the outline of the society. If gender and diversity is not mirrored in the society, it will take even more time to fully implement UNSCR 1325. Women's positions in the state or in the composition of the respective governments may indicate how fast gender and diversity goals are being implemented in both the military and society.

This paper will discuss the lack of implementation of UNSCR 1325 and why it is important to use women in conflict prevention roles. Recommendations will be proposed regarding how women can be used effectively as both military and civilian actors as force multipliers to improve and stabilize security related situations.

The Importance of UNSCR 1325

On October 31, 2000 the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. The resolution is unique because this is the first time gender has been addressed in the context of building and maintaining peace and in specifically considering the impacts on women of crisis and war.

UNSCR 1325 was developed with good intentions, but unfortunately the UN implementation of the resolution has been disappointing. In the UN's *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2006*, there is not one word or chapter, in the final report from the deployed gender and diversity advisors⁷ about the topics of gender and diversity.

Angela E. V. King, Special Adviser⁸ to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women in the UN, concluded that gender mainstreaming can not be achieved without clear institutional dedication to implement it.⁹ She points out that there are critical factors such as senior leadership that must spearhead implementation and that it is important to establish mechanisms for accountability. Other important and needed steps are the ways and the means to get the topic of gender and diversity on the agenda.¹⁰ The last available figures from the UN's eighteen ongoing peace keeping operations are that 746 women are participating in the military forces, which constitutes only 1 percent of the total forces.¹¹ For meaningful implementation, it will be essential that the UN clearly embeds gender into the mandate stressing gender equality from the beginning to the end. Developing a strategic plan with targeted deadlines for implementation of the mandate in all aspects, plans, and all phases of an operation is needed.

The UN must specifically ask for females when they request nations to contribute forces or personnel to its operations. Gender requirements should be defined as a capacity needed to execute a successful mission taking into account the impact on a whole society.

Why it is important to use women in conflict prevention

Women comprise more than 50 percent of the world's population.¹² They are an unused resource that must be tapped to gain a more peaceful and nonvolatile world. Bringing women into decision-making processes and power structures is essential. Many people consider the rebuilding of Europe after World War II a success, especially how West Germany developed into a democratic state. However, from a female perspective, because women were not in the decision-making process in the reconstruction of Europe, it took more than 60 years before Germany elected a female Chancellor and over 200 years for the United States to see its first female Speaker of the House and to reach the level of nearly 15 percent women in the Congress.¹³

Countries, which are powerful and have substantial influence should lead the way in implementing resolutions like 1325 to support them fully and consistently. All the permanent members of the Security Council have a special obligation to implement and be "role models" for the resolutions they adopt. Unfortunately, only the United Kingdom among the Permanent Five on the UN Security Council has an action plan related to 1325 in place.

In all conflicts women, senior citizens and children are the ones that suffer severely¹⁴ and are often sidelined as victims, thereby identifying them as parties in need of support and not as a potential valuable contributors to the society.¹⁵ Substantial challenges to change will be in nations where women traditionally are treated submissively or not according to international norms. Women, too often, are looked at as only being a provider of family support. The importance of women as a foundation for the children and so forth for the future has not been emphasized enough. Women can be a major resource to support and bolster a stable society where lasting peace and democracy are the main goals serving as important deterrents to future terrorism. More than 181 countries have signed the UN resolution concerning discrimination of women in politics and the society, but again implementation and follow through at the grassroots level has been disappointing.¹⁶

One of the best known and comprehensive profiles by Russell & Miller (1977)¹⁷ illustrates that 80 percent of all terror organizations are led by men. Furthermore, Randy Borum (2004)¹⁸ discusses to what extent the childhood experience of terrorists influences their behavior later. Therefore, it will be important to focus more on the role of women in present and future operations. Focusing on women's presence in the military and in peace processes will incorporate the most important factors responsible for the future of children and society.

Anthropologist Margaret Mead wrote that men perform and women adapt.¹⁹ It is important to implement this research into the multidimensional crises of today. Applying such research

into the multinational operations' decision making process will help to prevent conflict and preserve a stable society. Women in most societies, especially in Muslim nations, will remain responsible for most of the childcare.²⁰ Children are the future and by reaching out to the women or the caretakers of the children it is easier to understand the actions that need to be taken to accomplish a mission and to develop more secure societies where women are integrated. This cannot be done by a military force without women and should be a factor in the ongoing planning of how to reach the overall objective and end state of the operation.

Women in Arabic countries think that women do not have much influence in the society now, but they realize that women have a very important role within the family. They know that women have a unique possibility to shape and influence their children and in that way can shape the future.²¹ A lot of the Arabic women are incredibly aware that the Koran gives equal status to men and women.²² Most of them would like to have a more important role in the society.²³ In Jordan, Her Royal Highness Princess Aisha bint Al Faisal is the head of the Directorate of Military Women's Affairs. Such role models like this are a good booster for other states in the region.²⁴

Another important aspect of diversity and gender cases in the Muslim countries is that women in uniform have access to both men and women. Female soldiers are especially suited to such duties as performing body searches, house searches and manning checkpoints. In scenarios where a coalition force's is responsible to train and build up an army for the supported nation, it is important to train or be trained by women if western values are to take hold. When western nations talk about establishing democracies in conflict areas, with few exceptions, it appears that the role of women is very often forgotten or does not play a major role.²⁵ In Kuwait there is now a female Mullah that serves as an excellent and needed role model for other Kuwaiti women. This nation has slowly started to give women more rights such as the right to vote and drive cars.²⁶ These are small, but very important visual steps in this part of the world and can be used to help other Islamic societies move towards democracy.

During the International Security Assistant Force Afghanistan (ISAF) operation from 2003 to 2004, the lack of female interpreters at the CIMIC²⁷ Co-ordination Center was apparent. Letters were sent to the ISAF Headquarters to receive authorization to hire female interpreters, but the HQ was not interested. The lack of female interpreters affected the overall CIMIC work and ISAF was not able to assess the situation when the HQ was tasked to analyze the different CIMIC lines of activities. A similar situation occurred in intelligence, where information typically is gathered by males due to the fact that a lot of nations do not use female soldiers actively in data information collecting. However, to analyze the society's structure access to all aspects is

essential. Only addressing half of the society, men, will not give a good indication of where, for example, ISAF's lines of activities should be directed. In other words, all causes of action and efficiency of implementation must depend on the knowledge extracted from both men and women in the society.

In the ISAF Operation Plan²⁸ there were no lines of activities towards the women in Afghanistan, because neither the North Atlantic Council nor the nations had addressed guidelines in their Initiating Directive as strategic planning guidance. The gender issue could have been addressed in the CIMIC annex to the operation plan that is normally completed at the operational level. For the ISAF operation, the CIMIC annex was produced by the Joint Force Command (JFC) Brunssum, The Netherlands.

Female CIMIC officers addressed projects related to gender, but these projects were typically rejected by NATO and the EU.²⁹ Several national and international NGOs were led by women. ISAF experience indicates that using female military officers opens doors that can be closed to male officers. Only female officers had access to the Women's Park in Kabul. This park was a place where only women could be and all of the women in the park do not wear Burkas. Here CIMIC officers or other female officers could talk and receive a lot of information about women's concerns in particular and in general about the situation in Kabul Province.

When dealing with NGOs, or civilian counterparts in general, the quality and clarity of communication are more important than rank in accomplishing positive results. When operations like ISAF take place and the goals are stabilization and democracy, it is very important to the people and the force to see signs indicative of the society moving forward. Therefore, it would have been important to focus on supporting projects for women such as establishing female driving schools. Such a project would increase the visibility of women in society and influenced other females to start driving.

During the first six months after NATO took over the responsibility of the ISAF operation, only one assessment was initiated on the women's general situation in Kabul Province. The lack of ISAF assessments is strange since in Afghanistan men are responsible for the support of their family, but it is usually the mother who decides whether sons should or should not be allowed to go to the front line. The Koran teaches that the mother is the gateway to heaven, and sons need the forgiveness of their mothers before they can enter heaven. Consequently expressions such as 'Sisters' or 'Mothers' carry far more weight in Afghan culture than in western societies.³⁰ NATO has obviously not taken this into account. Unfortunately, the failure to address women's issues and gender and diversity in the Initiating Directive³¹ to the ISAF

planning is noticeable. So far there was no interaction in Brussels between the Military Committee (MC) and the Committee on Women in the NATO forces.

To communicate with the Afghani women, employees of local and international NGOs were used. Local NGO female employees who could speak English were used to reach out to the Afghani women. This was a unique opportunity to find out what went on in Kabul City and the surrounding areas. In this context, CIMIC provided more accurate information than the intelligence branch. Female officers can get access to both men and women on all levels in Afghani society. This is also one capability and advantage that is not taken into account during planning and decision-making processes in all levels of the ISAF operations.

The disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) process of ex-combatants is normally the first step in the transition from war to peace. When the ISAF HQ supported the United Nation Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)³² with the DDR process, no planning was done towards females. Although, the UNAMA mandate was to work with the rule of law and gender issues,³³ this was not reflected in the implementation process of the DDR in 2003. The DDR process must address the whole society to be a good tool to move towards democracy and the implementation of human rights.

In most of the ongoing military or peacekeeping operations gender is not taken into account by nations or organizations. Many organizations have good intentions, but it seems difficult to transmit theory into practice. It seems that someone must dare to take a radical step if organizations will be willing to really implement resolution 1325. This radical step could be female Force Commanders and female Peace Envoys, to endorse gender as a capability and force multiplier.

Implementation of Action Plans

Many challenges exist in implementing the UNSCR 1325. This resolution will not have a substantive effect unless the contents of the resolution are put into a national context for each of the member states. What does this mean? As of fall 2006, six years since the resolution was adopted by the Security Council, few nations have implemented the resolution. As of 2006 only a few countries, Denmark, Sweden, the United Kingdom and Norway, have created an action plan to implement the resolution.³⁴

The action plans address actions towards internal and external actors. All address the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Foreign or International Affairs and external organizations like the UN, the European Union (EU), the Organization for Co-operation and Security in Europe (OSCE) and NATO.³⁵ For example, the Norwegian Government's Action

Plan for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security gives the different ministries clear tasks.

For example, in Norway to make sure that the different ministries and agencies are staying on track, an inter-ministerial working group follows up and co-ordinates the work. All the involved ministries are represented. This group is essential to keep the momentum to implement plans at the agency level. Specific organizations focused on gender in their research are: The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and The Peace Research Institute.³⁶ Both institutes have given substantial support to the production of the Norwegian Government Action Plan. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is leading the working group. Having this action plan will create expectations on different levels. The inter-ministerial working group meets on a regular basis and it is important that the group consists of both women and men.

In Norway, all official working groups and boards in private and official sectors by law must have, at a minimum, 40 percent women participation or visa versa.³⁷ This law is reflected in the inter-ministerial working group and should be able to get a good outcome on all ministries and appeal to both women and men. In the other action plans made by Denmark, the UK and Sweden, there are no inter-ministerial working groups. Sweden assesses the plan every half year and the different ministries have to annually report on the progress of implementation. A ministerial working group is essential to keep up the momentum. Its authority is critical to the action plan's successful implementation.

The EU and the OSCE have had workshops and meetings on how to implement the resolution within their contexts.³⁸ These events have been enormously important to the North European countries and led to the development of action plans.

In summary, larger challenges loom in those countries where the law and/or cultural environment need to change to implement the resolution. In these countries, change will take a much longer time. Therefore, it is important that international defense and other organizations take action to engage and implement gender and diversity in military operations.

Committee on Women in the NATO Forces (CWINF)

The committee was formally established in 1976, but started already in 1961 with delegates from Denmark, The Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States and Norway. The committee's mission is to advise the NATO leadership and member nations on critical issues affecting women in the NATO Forces. The Committee is primarily a consultative body concerned with policies for women in the armed forces of the alliance, and promotes the most effective employment of capabilities and the development of women.³⁹ The committee plays an

important role exchanging information between NATO nations relating to women serving in uniform. It also formally meets once a year with official delegates and observers from NATO states. In addition, since 2002, all Partnership for Peace (PfP) and Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) nations have been invited to parts of the meeting. Since 2002, the Committee has focused on women as an integral part of NATO operations. Recently, the Committee has worked within three areas that form three sub committees: Recruitment and Employment, Training and Development and Quality of Life.

When Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer opened the Committee on Women in the NATO Forces meeting in 2004, he stated “..that it was not just about transforming structures and preparing for our new roles, but also about the way NATO functioned and wished to be perceived: as an open, transparent and modern organization, recognizing and promoting the role of women throughout the Alliance.” He also said that it was essential to benefit from the energy and talents of the entire population, not just one half of it. This statement is important and was transmitted to the Military Committee the same year. However like the UN, NATO has said that it is up to its members states to implement these suggestions before such policy is incorporated in NATO policy doctrines.

The President of the CWINF meets with all member states and PfP and MD nations after each meeting to bring forward the recommendations and advice to the MC in Brussels. Last year communication to the MC was: With the crises of today, we see new threats related to asymmetric warfare. There are no longer clearly defined front lines. There are often no readily identifiable enemies. As seen in Iraq, the battlefield is everywhere and everyone is at risk. We also have the post-conflict mission of nation building to ensure a safe and secure future.⁴⁰

NATO is much more than a pure military power. It is supposed to win *hearts and minds*. How can it build confidence in NATO and in society without the contributions of women? In some societies men are not even allowed to speak with women. In such a case how does NATO get through to that society without having female soldiers? ⁴¹

NATO assumed the responsibility of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan in August 2003. The mission was to establish security for the interim government of Afghanistan and to secure the environment so the international organizations could operate in ISAF's area of responsibility.⁴² During the force generation process in NATO the capability of reaching the whole society was not mentioned. Only a few nations like Canada, Sweden, Finland and Norway had women in their units that would interact with the local population in Afghanistan. These units could perform tasks that would jeopardize neither the security of the

population nor their own. Some of these tasks were civil military relations, check point duties, house searches, intelligence gathering and social talks.

NATO members must think from the perspective of diversity to fulfill their tasks and duties. In times of limited resources, expensive psychological and information operations have been used to favorably influence the perceptions and attitudes of the people in the area of operations. In some cases employing women in the theater could have significantly enhanced those campaigns. To get in touch with the entire population in the area of operations, it is imperative to deploy both male and female soldiers on the ground.

The common recommendation from the 2005 meeting was that NATO needs a policy document on Gender and Diversity to meet these challenges.⁴³ Other recommendations were:

- The MC gives CWINF approval to start the work on a MC document on gender and diversity in NATO operations.⁴⁴
- NATO should develop a checklist to be used in the Operational Planning Process that addresses gender-specific issues within the mission area.⁴⁵
- The gender checklist should be introduced for inclusion in NATO and national military colleges, training schools and used on NATO exercises and OP EVALS.⁴⁶
- Develop gender awareness training at all levels.⁴⁷
- Include gender considerations in all new acquisitions of equipment and accommodation and all upgrades to existing equipment and accommodation to ensure that there are no barriers to the deployment of servicewomen on these grounds.
- Develop NATO's code of conduct covering the behaviour of Service and Coalition personnel within the deployed multinational force as well as their interaction with the local population.
- Ensure that gender perspectives form part of the lessons learned process in NATO training and operations and that they are incorporated into an easily accessible database of lessons learned.
- Develop job-descriptions that are non-gender specific, equal employment opportunities.
- Increase the demand for female soldiers and officers in NATO positions and operations.
- Encourage member states to deploy women.
- Be proactive on gender issues during Manning and Flag to Post conferences.

The use of gender in military operations should be looked at as a capacity and be addressed during NATO's Force Generating Process of contributing forces and be addressed when a nation contributes forces to the NATO Response Force. When NATO asks nations to provide capabilities to its operations, guidelines should be given that the force contribution must have female soldiers in order to better achieve the mission. This will give member states signals of what kind of capabilities NATO will ask for and need in the future. Another tool to initiate gender as a capability could be through NATO force goals.⁴⁸

If NATO intends to be in the lead in implementing UNSCR 1325, it is necessary to look at what the OSCE, the EU and UN have done in this area in terms of workshops and seminars. NATO, which represents western democratic states and values, should be at the head of the class on this issue. As a follow up after CWINF briefed the Military Committee, the MC asked the Office of Women in the NATO Forces to endorse the recommendation of placing a MC policy document on the MC agenda.⁴⁹ This was done and the Committee on Women in the NATO Forces and NATO nations are now working on a MC document. This MC document will include UNSCR 1325 and most likely be embedded in present and future NATO policies.⁵⁰

NATO Planning Tools

Guidelines for Operational Planning (GOP)⁵¹ are NATO's most important planning tool. The purpose of the guidelines is to ease a common development of plans throughout the whole organization. In Stage I, Initiation, the NAC⁵² or the Military Committee (MC)⁵³ will issue political directions to the Supreme Commander. In 2001 the GOP was adjusted, but no guidelines about gender or diversity were amended. To support the GOP there are supporting guidelines called Functional Planning Guides (FPGs), but so far only one FPG touches on gender and diversity, the CIMIC FPG. This FPG does not address gender or diversity directly, but it focuses a lot on the importance of culture and gender and diversity related matters. If NATO is to meet present and future challenges in operations it must be able to deal with gender and diversity. The organization should revise the GOP and make a new FPG that addresses diversity and gender. This could be an attainable goal when the Military Committee adopts and endorses a policy on gender in NATO operations.

The OSCE and the EU have made significant progress in transforming their organizations to provide equal opportunities for women. After the UN issued Resolution 1325, the EU, the OSCE and their member states should have moved forward with action plans for gender and diversity. NATO nations reported in 2005 that a lot have started to implement parts of UNSCR

1325, but most of the nations have not made any specific action plans and have a long way to go.⁵⁴

In 2005, Ministers of Gender Equality in the EU met in February and reaffirmed their commitment to implement and encourage initiatives, policies and programmes following the UNSCR 1325. Furthermore, on 23 May 2005 the European Council adopted Generic Standards of Behaviour for European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) operations.⁵⁵ In the EU the Employment, Social Affairs & Equal Opportunities Directorate-General (DG) was given the task to implement the resolution. Within this unit it is the Equal Opportunities for Women and Men: Strategy and Programme Unit and the Equality of Treatment between Women and Men: Legal Questions Unit that are responsible to make sure that gender mainstreaming is embedded in their policies. Finally, in 2004 the OSCE's Sofia Ministerial Council endorsed the Gender Action Plan. This plan is mainly based on UNSCR 1325. It focuses on the insufficient follow-up of the resolution and the steps that the OSCE must do to fulfill gender mainstreaming within its organization and in its support to operations.

The Gender Action Plan comprises very much the same content and context as the UN Resolution. An OSCE expert seminar on "Women in Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management" took place in Vienna in June 2005.⁵⁶ The main outcome was that the OSCE ambassadors reported back to member states the recommendations from the different workshops. Compared to NATO the EU and the OSCE have seen the importance of the UN resolution and have taken several steps to implement gender-mainstreaming into their organizations and policies.

Strategic Leadership

The implementation of UNSCR 1325 can also be seen as a leadership challenge. Implementation is the responsibility of individual governments and is not only directed towards the military. The Resolution applies to different agencies and requires an interagency effort to implement it in all agencies and departments that are involved in conflict, crises and war. In Norway, there are five ministries that deal with peace and security that are addressed in the Norwegian Action Plan. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has the lead and will follow the ministries that are addressed in the plan. The important next step will be for the different ministries to make their own action plans to include how they will implement the government's action plan.

For the Armed Forces this should have an impact on the Doctrine and personnel guidelines. Gender and diversity should be implemented in doctrine as an important factor in any type of operation. In certain operations, and especially in Muslim countries, using gender

and diversity can be a force multiplier. To change doctrine and attitudes among male officers it will be important that strategic leaders lead the process and give more than lip service. Within the military or the Ministry of Defense this change must be expressed with a top down approach. Using models like John P Kotter's eight-stage process⁵⁷ can be a useful way to change the mind-set of the majority of the Defense Forces and the Ministries.

Conclusion

Failure to implement UNSCR 1325 and the importance of using women in conflict prevention are important issues to identify. The UNSCR 1325 is the first step. Common ground for recognizing the need to consider gender in military operations and nation building is needed. Although, ongoing military operations do not take gender into genuine consideration, all the right intentions are there. One of the large challenges will be to educate male leaders to understand the importance of gender and diversity in operations and in the role that gender can play towards reconciliation. Female officers/soldiers can open doors that are closed to men. Addressing the whole society (100 percent) can be a faster pathway to a democratic society. This aspect can also affect the length of military operations and how fast it can hand over the responsibilities to a follow on force or a new government. Organizations like NATO, the EU and the OSCE have started to incorporate the contents of UNSCR 1325 into action plans and guidelines for their future work and policies. This work will take time and it will be necessary to address gender-mainstreaming for many years to come. It is also of great importance that some high ranking spokespersons address this issue at political and military levels. The importance now will be that organizations like the UN, NATO, the EU, the OSCE and other coalition forces ask for gender capabilities to be able to execute their missions. Activities or projects in operations that deal with females are important because such activities are often highly visible and will often indicate movements towards a more democratic society.

All member states can play important roles. Nations can look and get guidance and experience from Northern European countries that are ahead of the rest of those nations that have adopted the UNSCR 1325, but not made any action plan to implement the resolution. The action plans made so far apply not only to the Ministry of Defense, but to several ministries. This indicates that providing peace and democracy is a matter of unity of effort from member states and organizations and includes both national and international tools. Finally, the need to establish an inter-ministerial working group that will give the implementation a certain authority and possibly more commitment will be of great importance.

Endnotes

¹ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women and Peace and Security; available from <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2000/sc2000.htm>; Internet; accessed 8 December 2006.

² United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations* (New York: July 2004), 1

³ Merriam Webster, Collegiate Dictionary, Eleventh Edition, 366.

⁴ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women and Peace and Security; available from <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2000/sc2000.htm>; Internet accessed 8 December 2006

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ United Nations, *Gender Mainstreaming An Overview*, Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (New York, 2002). Gender mainstreaming was established as a major global strategy for the promotion of gender equality in the Beijing Platform from the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Gender mainstreaming is defined as: "...the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and social spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

⁷ Out of 18 current peace operations, 9 have a dedicated gender advisory capacity- which could mean either a formalized unit or a gender advisor (UNMIS, UNMIK, MONUC, UNMIT, ONUB, UNOCI, MINUSTAH, UNMIL and UNAMA); available from <http://www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch/pkindex.html>; Internet; accessed 30 January 2007.

⁸ Replaced now by Ms. Rachel Mayanja, Assistant Secretary-General Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, New York 2007.

⁹ United Nations, *Gender Mainstreaming An Overview*, Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (New York, 2002), 27.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ General Randir Kumar Mehta – Military Adviser, Military Division, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, speech given during DPKO policy dialogue at the United Nation, New York 28 March 2006.

¹² Demographic Statistics from 2007; available from <http://www.census.gov/cgi-bin/ipc/idbag>; Internet; accessed 30 January 2007.

¹³ US Government Home Page, available from <http://usgovinfo.about.com/library/weekly/aa121198.htm>; Internet; accessed 8 December 2006.

¹⁴ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women and Peace and Security; available from <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2000/sc2000.htm>; Internet; accessed 8 December 2006.

¹⁵ Karame, Kari. *The Gender Perspective in Norwegian Peace Efforts* (Oslo, Norway: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2006), 22

¹⁶ Meetings conducted / actions taken by the Security Council in 2000: available from <http://www.un.org/Depts/dhl/resguide/scact2000.htm>; Internet: accessed 30 January 2007

¹⁷ Russell, C. A. and Miller, B. H, “*Profile of a Terrorist*”, in Freedman, L. Z. and Alexander, Y. Eds. *Perspectives on Terrorism* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1983), 33-41.

¹⁸ Randy Borum. *Psychology of Terrorism* (Tampa, FL: University of South Florida, 2004), 38-40.

¹⁹ Margaret Mead and Rhonda Metraux, “Peacekeeping” in *A Way of Seeing* (New York, N.Y.: The McCall Publishing Company, 1970) 107-109.

²⁰ International Fellow’s spouses from the Middle East, interviews by author, 1 December 2006, Carlisle, PA.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ HRH Princess Aisha bint Al Faisal sister of present HRH King Abdullah of Jordan; she is a Sandhurst graduate and got the rank of BG.

²⁵ *The Wikipedia Home Page*, available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003_Loya_jirga#Selecting_the_Loya_Jirga_Delegates; Internet; accessed 12 December 2006.

²⁶ International Fellow’s spouses from Middle East, interviews by author, 1 December 2006, Carlisle, PA.

²⁷ North Atlantic Military Committee, *NATO Military Policy on Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC)* (Bruxelles, Belgium: NATO Headquarters, 6 July 2001), 3

²⁸ JFC Brunssum, Operation Plan 31419, NATO’s first operation order leading the ISAF Operation in 2003. Lines of CIMIC activities were defined as: Support to the Afghan Transitional Authority, water, electrical power generation and supply, public health, shelter, food/nutrition and public education.

²⁹ The EU Commission in Afghanistan supported ISAF with funds to establish projects. The Finnish Contingent Commander also acting as CJ 9, ISAF HQ was responsible for civilian and military cooperation and coordination with the EU. EU’s contribution to Afghanistan; available from <http://www.delafg.ec.europa.eu/en/index.htm>; Internet; accessed 6 January 2007.

³⁰ Captain Hans Wall, "Cultural and Historical Aspects of Women's Suffrage in Afghanistan," briefing slides with scripted commentary, ISAF HQ, Kabul, 23 September 2003.

³¹ Initiating Directive is the first step in the NATO planning process, it can be issued as written document or as a oral presentation.

³² UNAMA Home Page, UNAMA was established on March 28, 2002 through United Nations Security Council, available from <http://www.unama-afg.org>; Internet; accessed 8 December 2006.

³³ UNAMA Home Page, available from http://www.unama-afg.org/about/_gender/Gender.htm; Internet; accessed 8 December 2006.

³⁴ Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The Norwegian Government's Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security* (Oslo, 8 March 2006).

³⁵ The Government of the United Kingdom; UK National Action Plan to Implement UNSCR 1325, Sweden; Regeringens handlingsplan for att genomföra säkerhetsrådet resolution 1325 (2000) om kvinnor, fred och säkerhet, Denmark; Dansk initiativer til national og international gennemførelse af Sikkerhedsrådsresolution 1325 om Kvinder, Fred og Sikkerhed, 8 March 2006.

³⁶ The NUPI Home Page, available from <http://www.nupi.no/English>; Internet; accessed 16 December 2006. The PRIO Home Page, available from <http://www.prio.no>; Internet; accessed 17 December 2006.

³⁷ The Norwegian Gender Home Page, available from http://www.gender.no/Legislation/National_legislation; Internet; accessed 16 January 2007.

³⁸ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Decision No 14/4, *Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality*, 7 December 2004. Folke Bernadotte Academy, Expert Seminar Women in Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management. June 2005, Vienna, Austria. EU Home Page, available from http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/gender_equality/gender_mainstreaming/roadmap_en.html; Internet; accessed 16 December 2006.

³⁹ Military Committee Document 249, *Committee on Women in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Forces (CWINF)* (NATO Headquarter, Brussels, Belgium: 19 July 1976).

⁴⁰ Colonel Kristin Lund, Former President of CWINF 2003-2005, "Recommendations to the MC," brief, NATO Headquarter, Brussels, Belgium, June 2005.

⁴¹ Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, Opening speech of the CWINF meeting, NATO HQ, Brussels June 2004.

⁴² The Wikipedia.org Home Page, available from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bonn_Agreement_\(Afghanistan\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bonn_Agreement_(Afghanistan)) ; Internet; accessed 8 January 2007.

⁴³ President of the Committee on Women in the NATO Forces speech to the Military Committee, June 2005

⁴⁴ This was the main subject to be addressed at the meeting in Brussels in 2006 and in Berlin in 2007.

⁴⁵ United Nations Department of Peace Keeping Operations, *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations* (New York, July 2004), 207. To be clear, the checklist would examine each issue from the point of view of the local population (women and men and boys and girls) to identify any differences in their needs and priorities, as well as in their abilities or potential to promote peace and reconstruction. The existing UN Gender Checklist should be used as an example.

⁴⁶ Members of the Committee who have been involved in operational planning for NATO missions were not previously aware of the existence of the UN gender checklist and therefore it is likely that few NATO Nations are using this checklist. The Sub-Committee considers the UN Checklist to be a useful tool for NATO planners

⁴⁷ In the preparation to deploy to an operation it is important that the troops understand that women can be a resource, not only a traditional victim. Furthermore, especially in Muslim countries the importance of having women in their maneuver units is to be able to reach out to the society without putting their own units at risk. Units need to be educated and trained in these matters before it deploys.

⁴⁸ The North Atlantic Treaty Organization Home Page, available from <http://www.nato.int/archives/1st5years/chapters/8.htm>; Internet; accessed 16 December 2006.

⁴⁹ Recommendations that are briefed to the MC must always be put through the chain of command to the MC's agenda to be staffed. All nations must have the possibility to address capitals before any decisions can be made by the MC.

⁵⁰ MC document to be finalized by the CWINF and member states during the CWINF meeting in Berlin June 2007.

⁵¹ North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Bi-SC Document, *Guidelines for Operational Planning (GOP)*, (Belgium, USA: January 2001).

⁵² North Atlantic Treaty Organization, *NATO Handbook* (Brussels, Belgium: 7 October 2002), 149-151.

⁵³ Ibid., 239-240.

⁵⁴ The North Atlantic Treaty Organization Home Page, available from http://www.nato.int/issues/women_nato/index.html; Internet; accessed 8 January 2007.

⁵⁵ The European Union Home Page, available from http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/gena/85008.pdf; Internet; accessed 4 February 2007.

⁵⁶ Folke Bernadotte Academy, *Expert Seminar Women in Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management*: Report to Member States (Vienna, Austria: 20 June 2005), 9.

⁵⁷ John P. Kotter, *Leading Change* (Boston, Massachusetts: Harvard Business School Press, 1996), 20-23.